

In view of the fact that even the poorest of our citizens are responding splendidly to the urgent appeal for Red Cross war relief, for the purchase of Defense Savings stamps and bonds and are sending their young men uncompainingly to die, if necessary, for their country: Be it

*Resolved*, That the Board of Supervisors of Halifax County strongly condemns this act of Congress as against the public interest and as destructive to public morale; be it further

*Resolved*, That the board of supervisors commends Senator Byrd, Congressman BURCH, and those Members of the United States Senate from Virginia and of the House of Representatives from Virginia who favor the repeal of this measure; be it further

*Resolved*, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the county papers, the Times-Dispatch, the News-Leader, the Danville Register, the Lynchburg News, and the Associated Press, and to the members of the Virginia congressional delegation.

#### VOTERS OPPOSE PENSIONS FOR CONGRESS

(By Dr. George Gailup)

PRINCETON, N. J., February 17.—Public reaction to the issue of pensions for Congressmen is one of strong opposition, first returns in a Nation-wide survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion indicate.

Approximately three voters in every four, on the average, the poll finds, have heard or read about the principle involved in the legislation passed by the House of Representatives which would allow Members of Congress to put themselves under the civil-service retirement system if they have served 5 years.

Those who knew about the plan were asked in the poll:

"Do you approve or disapprove of giving a pension to Congressmen when they leave office?"

|                | Percent |
|----------------|---------|
| Yes.....       | 10      |
| No.....        | 84      |
| Undecided..... | 6       |

#### EXECUTIVE SESSION

Mr. BARKLEY. I move that the Senate proceed to the consideration of executive business.

The motion was agreed to; and the Senate proceeded to the consideration of executive business.

#### EXECUTIVE MESSAGE REFERRED

The PRESIDING OFFICER (Mr. GILLETTE in the chair) laid before the Senate a message from the President of the United States nominating Callis H. Atkins to be an assistant sanitary engineer in the United States Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath, which was referred to the Committee on Finance.

#### EXECUTIVE REPORTS OF COMMITTEES

The following favorable reports of nominations were submitted:

By Mr. McCARRAN, from the Committee on the Judiciary:

Oscar S. Cox, of Maine, to be Assistant Solicitor General of the United States, vice Charles Fahy, resigned.

By Mr. HILL, from the Committee on Commerce:

Jean H. Hawley, to be Assistant Director of the Coast and Geodetic Survey with rank of rear admiral, and several employees of the Coast and Geodetic Survey to be hydrographic and geodetic engineers with the rank of lieutenant in the Survey.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. If there be no further reports of committees, the clerk will state the nominations on the calendar.

#### POSTMASTER—GABRIEL J. CHOPP

The legislative clerk read the nomination of Gabriel J. Chopp to be postmaster at Ahmeek, Mich.

Mr. BROWN. Mr. President, I ask that the nomination be confirmed.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, the nomination is confirmed. That completes the calendar.

#### RECESS

Mr. BARKLEY. As in legislative session, I move that the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock noon tomorrow.

The motion was agreed to; and (at 1 o'clock and 44 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 24, 1942, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### NOMINATION

Executive nomination received by the Senate February 23 (legislative day of February 13), 1942:

##### UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE

Callis H. Atkins to be an Assistant Sanitary Engineer in the United States Public Health Service, to take effect from date of oath.

#### CONFIRMATION

Executive nomination confirmed by the Senate February 23 (legislative day of February 13), 1942:

##### POSTMASTER

##### MICHIGAN

Gabriel J. Chopp, Ahmeek.

## HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MONDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 1942

The House met at 12 o'clock noon.

The Chaplain, Rev. James Shera Montgomery, D. D., offered the following prayer:

Give ear, O Lord, unto our prayer; in the beauty and glory of Thy infinite nature, incline unto us. In these hallowed moments it is given us to realize the patriotic devotion and character of our forefathers. From the unseen heights of Thy throne Thou didst guide their broken columns as they toiled in sacrificial suffering to bring order out of chaos, service out of selfishness, and man out of the throes of political tyranny. Oh, consider and hear us as we pray the prayer of the immortal Virginia patriot:

"Almighty God, we make our earnest prayer that Thou wilt keep the United States in Thy holy protection; that Thou wilt incline the hearts of the citizens to cultivate a spirit of subordination and obedience to government, and entertain a brotherly affection and love for one another and for their fellow citizens of the United States at large. And finally that Thou wilt most graciously be pleased to dispose us all to do justice, love mercy, and to demean ourselves with that charity, humility, and pacific temper of mind which were the characteristics of the Divine Author of our blessed religion without a humble imitation of whose example in these things we can never hope to be a happy nation. Grant our suppli-

cation, we beseech Thee, through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."

The Journal of the proceedings of Thursday, February 19, 1942, was read and approved.

#### MESSAGE FROM THE SENATE

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Frazier, its legislative clerk, announced that the Senate had passed with amendments, in which the concurrence of the House is requested, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 6446. An act to provide for continuing payment of pay and allowances of personnel of the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Coast Guard, including the retired and Reserve components thereof, and civilian employees of the War and Navy Departments, during periods of absence from post of duty, and for other purposes.

The message also announced that the Senate had passed a bill of the following title, in which the concurrence of the House is requested:

S. 2282. An act to provide for the planting of guayule and other rubber-bearing plants and to make available a source of crude rubber for emergency and defense uses.

The message also announced that the Vice President had appointed Mr. BARKLEY and Mr. BREWSTER members of the joint select committee on the part of the Senate, as provided in the act of August 5, 1939, entitled "An act to provide for the disposition of certain records of the United States Government," for the disposition of executive papers in the following agencies:

1. Government Printing Office.
2. The National Archives.

#### ENROLLED BILL SIGNED

Mr. KIRWAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had, on February 19, 1942, examined and found truly enrolled a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 6548. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The Chair desires to announce that, pursuant to the authority granted him on February 19, 1942, he did, on Friday, February 20, 1942, sign the enrolled bill of the House, H. R. 6548, the first deficiency appropriation bill.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MARTIN of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I may extend my remarks in the RECORD by including therein an address delivered by the Honorable GEORGE A. DONDERO before the Michigan State College Alumni.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

#### GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS

The SPEAKER. The Chair thinks it proper first to recognize the gentleman from Nebraska [Mr. STEFAN] to read George Washington's Farewell Address. The gentleman from Nebraska.

Mr. STEFAN. Washington's Farewell Address:

*To the people of the United States:*

FRIENDS AND FELLOW CITIZENS: The period for a new election of a citizen to administer the executive government of the United States being not far distant, and the time actually arrived when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty or propriety; and am persuaded, whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say that I have, with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience, in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and, every day, the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value

to my services they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe that, while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment which is to terminate the career of my political life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence enjoyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead amidst appearances sometimes dubious, vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging—in situations in which not unfrequently, want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism,—the constancy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans, by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these states under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete by so careful a preservation, and so prudent a use of this blessing, as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me, on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people, is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real inde-

pendence; the support of your tranquility at home; your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee that, from different causes and from different quarters much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed; it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national union to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual, and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can, in any event, be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth, or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits, and political principles. You have, in a common cause, fought and triumphed together; the independence and liberty you possess, are the work of joint counsels, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these considerations, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest.—Here, every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The *north*, in an unrestrained intercourse with the *south*, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise, and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The *south*, in the same intercourse, benefiting by the same agency of the *north*, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the *north*, it finds its particular navigation invigorated; and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a maritime strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The *east*, in a like intercourse with the *west*, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings



from abroad, or manufactures at home. The *west* derives from the *east* supplies requisite to its growth and comfort—and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the *secure* enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions, to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as *one nation*. Any other tenure by which the *west* can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength; or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts, greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and, what is of inestimable value, they must derive from union, an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalry alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments, and intrigues, would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise, they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as particularly hostile to republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endeavor to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind and exhibit the continuance of the union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. It is well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its impracticability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those who, in any quarter, may endeavor to weaken its hands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterizing parties by *geographical* discriminations,—*northern* and *southern*—*Atlantic* and *western*; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions

and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country have lately had a useful lesson on this head; they have seen, in the negotiation by the executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the senate of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at the event throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic states, unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi. They have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain and that with Spain, which secure to them everything they could desire, in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the union by which they were procured? will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such they are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances, in all times, have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government, better calculated than your former for an intimate union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This government, the offspring of our own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and maintaining within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your support. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government.—But the constitution which at any time exists, until changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power, and the right of the people to establish government, presuppose the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberations and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency.—They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force, to put

in the place of the delegated will of the nation the will of party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests.

However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men, will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular opposition to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretext. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system; and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions:—that experience is the surest standard by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country:—that facility in changes, upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion: and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you the danger of parties in the state, with particular references to the founding them on geographical discrimination. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind.—It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit

of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism.—But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual; and, sooner or later, the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purpose of his own elevation on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils, and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another; foment occasional riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which finds a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent it bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those intrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power and proneness to abuse it which predominate in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions of the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.—To preserve them must be

as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates.—But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked, where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? and let us with caution indulge the supposition that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure, reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

It is substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule, indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible, avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering, also, that timely disbursements, to prepare for danger, frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions, in time of peace, to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burden which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes, that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment

inseparable from the selection of the proper object (which is always a choice of difficulties,) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue, which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations; cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and morality enjoin this conduct, and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt but, in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it; can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others, should be excluded; and that, in place of them, just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence, frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed, and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility, instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty of nations, has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest, in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducements or justifications. It leads also to concessions, to the favorite nation, of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions, by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a



disposition to retaliate in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens who devote themselves to the favorite nation, facility to betray or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption, or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils!—Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, (I conjure you to believe me fellow citizens,) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove, that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy, to be useful, must be impartial, else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defense against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike for another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little *political* connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith:—Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence, she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collusions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us

provocation, when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor, or caprice?

It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliance with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronizing infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maximum no less applicable to public than private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary, and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves by suitable establishments, on a respectable defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, and a liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view, that it is folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. It is an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations, but if I may even flatter myself that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will

be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare by which they have been dictated.

How far, in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have, at least, believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe; my proclamation of the 22d of April, 1793, is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice, and by that of your representatives in both houses of congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination, with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound, in duty and interest, to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined, as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe that, according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without any thing more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and experience. With me a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress, without interruption, to that degree of strength, and consistency which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be, I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that, after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation that retreat in which I

promise myself to realize without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government—the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers.

GEO. WASHINGTON.

UNITED STATES.  
19th September, 1796.

FACTS CONCERNING GEORGE WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES

Mr. STEFAN. Mr. Speaker, when the House honored me with the privilege of reading this famous address on the birth anniversary of our first President, I made some inquiry about its history, and here are certain interesting facts.

President Washington wrote the address primarily to eliminate himself as a candidate for a third term. It was never read by the President in public, but printed in Claypool's American Daily Advertiser, Philadelphia, September 19, 1796.

The address is in two parts. In the first, Washington definitely declines a third term, gives his reasons, and acknowledges a debt of gratitude for the honors conferred upon him and for the confident support of the people. In the second and more important part he presents, as a result of his experience and as a last legacy of advice, thoughts upon the Government.

After Claypool's death the manuscript was ordered to be sold at auction on February 12, 1850. Senator Henry Clay on January 24, 1850, offered a joint resolution for its purchase by the Government, but the resolution was not signed by President Taylor until the day of the sale. The manuscript was sold to James Lenox for \$2,300, and passed, with his library, to the New York Public Library.

There is no evidence of any bid on behalf of the National Government.

PROTECTION OF THE CAPITOL

The SPEAKER. One of the responsibilities of the Speakership is the protection of the Members and the places in which they work. This responsibility, of course, is a little more anxious one right now than in ordinary times, and anything that is done or any regulation that is issued is issued after the best and most competent advice the Speaker is able to get.

Some time ago cards were issued and no one was allowed to come into the gallery without one. These cards have been outstanding for some time, and I am sorry to say they have been widely distributed, many of them mailed to distant points in the country. The Chair and those who advise him have decided that it is best to revoke all outstanding cards of admission to the galleries. New cards have been printed and will be distributed to the Members today and tomorrow, as the cards to the gallery outstanding will not be honored after Wednesday morning. And may the Chair hazard just one suggestion, and that is that as to the men around the Capitol, and especially those in uniform, who, at the request of the organization on Cap-

itol Hill, are sent up here, that we be not impatient with them when we happen to leave our identification cards at home or in our office. They are here to protect you and me and this invaluable property in which we work; and to the young men around the Capitol I would bespeak the same consideration.

Another thing that those who advise me think is highly advisable is that the people entering any of the galleries, except the Members' gallery, submit themselves to search. This is thought wise and judicious by men who will be in the Capitol and who will be competent for the work.

I hope this may not seem too irksome to some of our people who may come to Washington. I am willing to take this responsibility for the reason that if a mishap occurs around the Capitol somebody has got to take the responsibility, and I am willing to share my part of it. So I hope the cards that will be issued in lieu of those outstanding may be handed in Washington to visitors and constituents of yours and not be mailed around the country.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, on that point may I make the suggestion to the Chair that instead of issuing these cards for the duration of the Congress that they be limited to a given number of days or for the time or the day when the visitor expects to visit the House?

Mr. DINGELL. And, Mr. Speaker, may I make the further suggestion that all cards be signed by the recipients in their own handwriting, because you cannot identify a card holder without a signature.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. REECE of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and to include therein a report to the Secretary of Agriculture from the Commissioner of Narcotics on the drug traffic, with respect to the dangers in relation thereto, together with a brief editorial regarding the matter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Tennessee?

There was no objection.

Mr. CLASON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and to include a news item from this morning's Washington Post.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Massachusetts?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein an address which I delivered yesterday, February 22, at Mount Vernon during the ceremonies in which diplomatic representatives from the peoples who are battling the Japanese in the Pacific placed wreaths upon the tomb of George Washington.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BLOOM. Also, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my re-

marks in the RECORD and include an address delivered by Mr. Sumner Welles.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GUYER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include a speech delivered by Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, of Massachusetts, at Kansas City.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. WELCH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include an editorial from the San Francisco News.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. FULMER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a brief item.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. NORRELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include three short letters.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. COSTELLO. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that my colleague the gentleman from California [Mr. KRAMER] may have permission to extend his remarks in the RECORD and include an address by James Rowe, an assistant to the Attorney General.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. COSTELLO. Also, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include an address by Mayor Bowron, of Los Angeles.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include a sermon by the Reverend Charles Barbour.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. PAGÁN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include certain newspaper comments on Mr. Tugwell, the Governor of Puerto Rico.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. CASE of South Dakota. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include a very remarkable editorial by R. W. Hitchcock, in the Rapid City Journal, entitled "Washington, Talk to Yourself."

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF UNITED STATES CITIZENSHIP

Mr. LEWIS, on behalf of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH], and by direction of the Committee on Rules, submitted the following resolution (H. Res. 443) for printing, under the rule, which was read and referred to the House Calendar and ordered to be printed:

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 6600) providing for the issuance of documentary evidence of United States citizenship. That



after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed 1 hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Immigration and Naturalization, the bill shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of such consideration, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

#### TO EXPEDITE THE PROSECUTION OF THE WAR

Mr. LEWIS, on behalf of the gentleman from Illinois [Mr. SABATH] and by direction of the Committee on Rules submitted the following resolution (H. Res. 444) for printing, under the rule, which was read, and referred to the House Calendar and ordered printed:

*Resolved*, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union for the consideration of the act (S. 2208) to further expedite the prosecution of the war. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the act and continue not to exceed 4 hours, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on the Judiciary, the act shall be read for amendment under the 5-minute rule. At the conclusion of such consideration, the Committee shall rise and report the act to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the act and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion, except one motion to recommit.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. HOOK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include a resolution on unemployment benefits under the W. P. A.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. HOOK. Also, Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include a statement that I issued with regard to the so-called congressional pensions.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. ELLIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in two particulars and include newspaper editorials.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

#### FARM LABOR

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for half a minute and revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

[Mr. BURDICK addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. GEHRMANN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include therein a letter from one of my constituents and a short newspaper article.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. O'HARA. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include an editorial from the Mankato Free Press, and also an editorial from the Saturday Evening Post.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. VOORHIS of California. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include an article by Maj. George Fielding Eliot.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include a recent address by the archbishop of New Orleans.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

#### SECURITY FOR THE AGED

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to proceed for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include therein a letter.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GREEN. Mr. Speaker, when we have for consideration tomorrow the bill to repeal the annuity for House and Senate Members, the civil-service amendment, it will be an opportune time for the House to give consideration effectively to security of the aged of our country.

I hope the House will join with me tomorrow in substituting for this bill a reasonable, straight Federal pension for the aged of this country.

#### PASS, NOW, OLD-AGE PENSION BILL AND REPEAL SENATORS' AND CONGRESSMEN'S LAW

During the past few weeks much correct and incorrect publicity has been given to the civil-service amendment bill, H. R. 6528. As you, of course, understand, one of the provisions of this bill extends to Senators and Congressmen the optional right to contribute 5 percent of their salaries into a retirement fund and to draw back from this fund an annual annuity after they reach the age of 62, if they are then retired from Congress. This bill may better be called the social-security extension bill. However, that is not the impression that the American public has of it. The impression has gone out that this bill would grant large, comfortable, and unjustifiable pensions to Senators and Congressmen.

#### I VOTE FOR REPEAL

Under the provisions of the bill, in my own case it would be necessary for me to now put into the fund approximately \$8,400 in order for me to draw out of the fund, upon reaching retirement age, \$101 per month. Of course, I have not this large sum of money, and, if I did have it, could not afford to put it into the fund. The law means nothing to me. I am not participating under it; I did not vote for it; and I shall vote for its immediate repeal. I am not willing to be a party to a law like this while the senior citizens of our Nation go unprovided for. It is true that we have social security for them, but it is true, likewise, that under existing conditions this social

security is not carrying adequate relief and is carrying no relief to the large majority of the aged of America.

Our great and beneficent Government has extended rather liberal retirement for employees of the Government other than, of course, Congressmen and Senators. Take, for instance, the officers of the Army and Navy may retire upon three-fourths pay, and without contributing to their own retirement fund. Federal judges may retire upon full pay without contributing toward their own retirement fund. Regular civil-service employees may retire upon reasonable annuity, but they, of course, are compelled to contribute a percentage of their salaries to the retirement fund. They are, I believe, now contributing 5 percent of each month's salary to the retirement fund. This retirement fund is maintained largely by these civil-service employees' contributions. Social-security retirement is brought about, I believe, through contribution of 3 percent on the part of the participant, and some social-security contributors may receive as high as \$60 or \$80 per month upon retiring. We have passed a law for the retirement of railroad employees. The employee, I believe, contributes 3 percent to his retirement fund, and the railroad company contributes a percentage. One of the most meritorious pieces of legislation ever passed by the Congress was the Railroad Employees' Retirement Act.

I suggest that in legislation for the repeal of H. R. 6528, we include in this repeal legislation, an item for a straight Federal pension for American citizens above the age of 60 years. In other words, let us have the courage to substitute for our own pension retirement possibilities a real straight Federal pension for the aged. I would prefer to see these aged and needy citizens have even a small pension than for me to have a pension or annuity; and by the way, when a Senator or Congressman reaches his 60 years of age, he can then come under the general old-age retirement pension bill that I propose now we substitute for this so-called Congressmen-and-Senators pension bill. There is no difference between a Congressman or Senator and other aged citizen of our country. Under our great scheme of American affairs, we are all equal and should share and share alike in the responsibilities to our Government, and in any benefits springing from the Government.

#### TOWNSEND PLAN BILL

We have before us now many bills and plans for pension for the aged. At least two of these I know are receiving the serious consideration of a large number of the Members of the House. One of them is H. R. 1036, as introduced by our colleague from Montana [Mr. O'CONNOR], and known as the Townsend plan bill. It is workable; it is meritorious; and will in fact bring security to the aged of our land. I have long supported this legislation and was 1 of the 101 House Members who signed petition for consideration of this bill in the previous Congress. Among these 101 signatures, Florida gave four of its five Members. They were PETERSON, HENDRICKS, CANNON, and myself. We have now a petition on the

Speaker's desk, bearing the signatures of almost half of the membership of the House. This is Discharge Petition No. 7, and would call for the immediate consideration of H. R. 1036. I am proud to tell you that Florida now has on that petition all of her 5 House Members; PETERSON, HENDRICKS, CANNON, SIKES, and myself.

Many of us who believe in this legislation have meetings at frequent intervals in an effort to obtain the required 218 signatures to bring about consideration by the House of Representatives of this bill. Dr. Francis E. Townsend and thousands of American citizens throughout the country have labored for years to bring about the writing into law of this meritorious legislation. Recently I had a letter from Dr. Townsend, in part as follows:

"As an organization we are extremely anxious not to lose any of the friends in Congress who have so dependably supported us, so I am confident that there will be little or no opposition to your proposed candidacy for Congressman at Large.

I hope you may be elected to that important post."

#### GENERAL WELFARE BILL

The other bill which is of unusual merit and worthiness for our immediate consideration is H. R. 1410. It is sponsored by thousands of American citizens throughout this country and is known as the General Welfare Act. We have on the Speaker's desk Petition No. 6 which would compel consideration by the House of this worthy legislation. This petition is signed by scores of Congressmen, almost enough to bring the bill to a vote. I signed this petition. Mr. Speaker and my colleagues, it is noteworthy that practically all the Congressmen signing Petition No. 6 are signers of Petition No. 7. This is convincing proof that those of us in the House of Representatives who are sincerely endeavoring to obtain security for the aged of this land are not concerned primarily with language in bills but are concerned about the eminent and meritorious need for straight Federal pension for the aged of our country, and we want passage now.

The General Welfare Federation of America has thousands of sponsors but one of the most sincere and helpful advocates is Hon. Arthur L. Johnson, the executive and legislative secretary of this association. Recently I received a letter from Arthur, which I prize very highly. It is as follows:

#### GENERAL WELFARE FEDERATION OF AMERICA,

Washington, D. C., January 30, 1942.

HON. LEX GREEN,

Member of Congress,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. GREEN: We desire to thank you most sincerely for all you have done for the cause of pensions at our National Capital, and to assure you, as an organization, of our unqualified and enthusiastic support in the coming campaign.

In accordance with our national bylaws, our board of directors has given you its unanimous endorsement on account of what you have done for pensions.

The writer knows personally, after 5 years of association with you, just how effective this aid has been, and we hope to be able, in cooperation with the pension groups in Flor-

ida that are associated with us, to be an effective unit in the campaign to make certain that you remain in Congress to continue your activities on behalf of the senior citizens of America.

With best wishes for your continued success as one who has served your State well in Congress for 18 years and with kindest regards, we remain,

Very sincerely yours,

ARTHUR L. JOHNSON,

Executive and Legislative Secretary.

Time will not permit me to attempt an analysis of the two bills just mentioned. This can and will be done when the legislation is before the House for a vote, which I trust will be in the very, very near future. All I would hope to do today is to urge upon you the merit and importance of legislation now for straight Federal pension for the aged and to remind you of the appropriateness of the enactment of legislation for this purpose simultaneously with the repeal of the so-called pension for Senators and Congressmen legislation.

#### I WANT FEDERAL PENSIONS FOR THE AGED ON PAY-AS-YOU-GO BASIS NOW

I believe that each of you realize with me the eminent necessity of more adequate security for the aged of our Nation and also you know as well as I do that existing social-security legislation has not fully met this requirement. It is true that social-security legislation now in existence has carried helpful benefits to some of the aged, the blind, needy, children, and the weak. Only a small percentage of those entitled to and in need of these benefits have been able to receive them. This lack of assistance is caused both by the inadequacy of the legislation itself and by the various States not sufficiently matching funds.

#### TITLES I AND II, SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

Of the existing social-security legislation, I would call your particular attention to titles I and II of the Social Security Act, as amended. These are the provisions which should be repealed and for which reasonable, just, and fair legislation should be substituted.

It has been estimated that of an average group of 1,000 American citizens over 65 years of age in 1937, only 128 had current earnings, only 150 had savings, and only 73 had public or private pensions, while 203 were dependent wholly or in part on private or public charity, and 446 were living on the hand-outs of friends and relatives. This revelation was made by statistics prepared, I believe, by the Social Security Board. These statistics show the alarming need for adequate help for the some 7,000,000 citizens in America above 65 years of age and also for almost an equal number between 60 and 65 years of age.

There are between thirteen and fourteen million American citizens over 60 years of age. According to the above statistics, some 85 percent of them were in need of assistance or were actually receiving assistance.

Some time ago there was an announcement from the Social Security Board that \$114,000,000 would be distributed among 912,000 old people this year. This, of course, is only about \$10 per month, and bear in mind that this 912,000 is only

about 25 percent of those in the country who are above 65 years of age, and who are in desperate need.

The average pension, or income of \$10 per month for a person 65 years of age or above, is so meager and inadequate that it is ridiculous. Now, I am not condemning these payments because they have helped and are helping the aged of our country a great deal, but what I am trying to impress upon you is the great necessity of the Congress to now pass pay-as-you-go pension legislation which will bring security for all of the aged citizens in our country.

Under existing law, the Federal Government puts up \$20 per month, providing this \$20 is equally matched by the State. Under the existing plan, the State of California is, I believe, the only State fully matching the \$20 and paying a pension of \$40 per month. The scale goes on down among the several States, and reaches a low of average pension in another State of \$5.80 per month. The total average paid throughout the United States, in all States, is \$19 or \$20 per month.

I contend that the present social-security set-up in the way it affects the aged is not adequate.

#### UNFAIR TO WEAK STATES

I would not have you get the impression that all of the aged citizens in the various States who are in need are receiving these pensions—quite the contrary. I can speak better for my own State than I can for others. Our State has failed to provide funds to adequately match the Federal offer and through regulations, fully three-fourths of the aged who should receive pensions are not getting a thin dime. In other words, the "need clause" is forcefully stressed, making it practically impossible for one to get any allowance unless he is, in fact, a destitute pauper. The poor States are not able to match the \$20 per month, or they are not doing it, and through default of this matching, funds from the weak States are siphoned out into the rich States. The powerful and rich States are the ones that are matching the highest Federal funds. When a small, weak State defaults on matching, the people of this State still pay into the social-security fund their industrial and employment pro rata of Federal taxes. They enrich the national fund which is in turn siphoned out into the powerful States. This plan is wrong.

An aged person can be just as hungry in Florida, Georgia, or Arkansas as he is in California, Pennsylvania, or New York. Hunger respects no State line and destitution chooses no particular locality.

The citizens of my State are in dead earnest about obtaining passage of legislation for real security for the aged. They are organized in all parts of the State and are earnestly and actively cooperating with the Florida delegation in Congress for passage of this legislation.

All citizens owe their allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. State constitutions control locally, but cannot supersede the Federal Constitution. Likewise, American citizens are citizens of the United States; to it they owe their allegiance, and from it they are entitled



to security and protection. Pensions to the aged and to the blind should be paid equally and in equal amount in every State in the Union. In practice of existing law this is not being done. This grievous wrong must be righted.

#### CONTRIBUTIONS FROM WAGE EARNERS ARE TOO HEAVY

Under existing social-security retirement plan, contributions are made from wage earners up to \$250 per month, beginning, of course, with a meager earning of, I believe, \$200 per year. In some sections of this country, particularly in the farm areas, many wage earners do not obtain as much as \$200 a year. What about his social-security retirement under the present law? Also, what about the man who is not employed during each year gainfully the required number of days, and who does not receive the required amount during each quarter? This man loses his contribution rights and also his retirement-benefit rights. Under the present plan of retirement at 65 years of age, it is indicated that 15 percent of those taxed will be returned nothing at all, since they failed to qualify. Another 15 percent will get the statutory minimum of the act, of \$10 a month; and a good 40 percent more will receive under \$19 per month. This last group will have a monthly average of about \$14.50 per month. From this it is apparent that more than half of those now contributing to old-age pension retirement through their wages will get on an average of \$14.50 per month retirement after they reach 65 years of age. The other 50 percent of contributors will receive monthly pensions of from, say, \$19 up to \$85 per month. A comparatively few will receive \$85 per month, because these will be the ones having paid in on monthly salaries of \$250 per month.

#### THE RICH SHOULD PAY ALSO

Why should contributions stop on salaries of \$250 per month and none be taxed on the higher salaries? This is all wrong. Regardless of the income and the salary of the individual the proportionate rate of payment should be made. Under actual operation of existing law those receiving the largest monthly payments will be those in the main who are already financially secure and who really do not need any Federal assistance while the large majority of cases, those receiving the pittance of from \$10 to \$14.50 per month, will be the ones who are weak and insecure financially. My friends, again this is wrong.

The aged of our country should be adequately provided for and should share and share alike, in their old days, in Government pensions. Security of the aged is a Federal responsibility. Our Nation and our Government is as strong only as its citizens are. An economically secure and happy citizenship is the best assurance that our Nation can ever have prosperity and peace.

Under existing social-security law the large volume of payments and the burden of its operations come from those least able to pay. I favor social-security legislation which will exact a due and fair toll from those most able to pay rather than to continue to bleed the weak.

The large salaries and incomes of individuals should appropriately be taxed to help take care of the needy. These incomes are more enormous than one would casually believe. Some 2 years ago the Treasury Department made public names of those who receive more than \$75,000 per year. The fabulous incomes of such individuals as Henry Ford and John D. Rockefeller are not included, but included are a few which are considered by the ultrarich as modest incomes; for instance, Thomas J. Watson, head of International Business Machines Corporation, with \$453,440; that was for 1938. This same year motion-picture actress Claudette Colbert pulled down an income of \$301,944, and Louis B. Mayer, M. G. M. head, in 1937 drew a salary of \$1,161,753. Bing Crosby crooned out \$260,000, and even little Shirley Temple was paid \$114,848. Charles B. Dulcan, Sr., director of Hecht Co. Department Store, Washington, D. C., received the modest sum of \$101,309. William Randolph Hearst, the great publisher, drew \$500,000 in 1937. George Washington Hill, of the American Tobacco Co., obtained \$380,976 in 1938 and almost as much in 1937, and probably a great deal more in 1939, as the past year was a much better business year than 1938, and, mind you, during the past year of 1939 the tobacco growers in my district hardly obtained cost of production of the tobacco. The price of cigarettes, chewing tobacco, and snuff remained the same or even more during this bad sales period of 1939. W. S. Knudsen, of General Motors, was paid \$303,400; Walter P. Chrysler, of Chrysler Motors, \$189,136; and Winthrop Aldrich, of the Chase National Bank, New York City, in 1938 was paid \$177,600; Owen D. Young, General Electric Corporation, drew the handsome salary of \$245,447. Why, H. F. Sinclair, of Consolidated Oil Co., drew \$200,550 in 1938.

It is only fair and just and in the interest of better life in America that these huge salaries and incomes should bear their part toward giving the necessities of life and security to the aged of this country, and I shall never cease my efforts nor lay down my weapons until the aged and needy of this Nation are cared for.

#### PAY AS YOU GO

With the large Federal expenditures now required, and the huge deficit in the Federal Treasury, it is indeed appropriate to have security for the aged on a pay-as-you-go basis. It would occur to me that any individual or organization receiving more than \$250 per month would be willing to give 2 percent for the security of the aged and less fortunate. The earning possibilities of these who pay this 2-percent income tax will be substantially enhanced.

#### STATE \$1, FEDERAL \$2

While the social-security bill was before the House, a large number of us did all possible to favorably amend this bill. I voted for amendment which would have given for pensions for the aged 100 percent from the Government. When this failed, I voted for amendment for the State to put up \$1, the Federal Government \$4; when this amendment failed, I voted for amendment for the State to

put up \$1, the Government \$3; when this failed, I voted for amendment for the State to put up \$1 and the Government \$2. This last proposition of \$2 to 1, indeed, should have been adopted, but, in spite of all that we liberals could do, we were outvoted by those who felt the State should put up \$1 and the Government \$1; in other words, the present 50-50 matching plan of \$20 by the Federal Government and \$20 by the State government, making a total pension of \$40 per month possible.

#### FLORIDA LEGISLATURE FAILS TO MATCH FEDERAL FUNDS

The Florida State Legislature has miserably failed to put up Florida's \$20 to match the Federal \$20. If the Florida Legislature now will appropriate sufficient moneys and repeal harsh State law restrictions, the needy aged of my State would all now be getting \$40 per month. It appears, however, that the Florida Legislature will not be able to do this. I desire to see the elimination of the existing inspection of, questioning of, and embarrassment of the aged of my State concerning their applications for old-age pensions. I urge you, my colleagues, to now join with us and enact a straight Federal pension in some reasonable monthly amount to be sent straight to the individual from the Federal Treasury, and making it necessary for the applicant to prove only his age and his loyal American citizenship. I have been encouraged in this cause recently by a noble expression from our great President, as follows:

THE WHITE HOUSE,  
Washington, October 7, 1941.

HON. LEX GREEN,

Member of Congress, Starke, Fla.

MY DEAR LEX: I am in receipt of your letter of October 4 relative to old-age pensions. I am now studying various plans for the future development of the social-security program, and you may be certain that in doing so the matter of providing security for the aged will not be overlooked.

I appreciate very much having your views concerning this matter.

With all good wishes, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT.

#### WAR CRISIS INCREASES NEED

Finally, my friends, I would impress upon you that during this war crisis and following the war the needs of our unemployable aged citizens, many of them indeed infirm and bedridden, will grow more and more acute. Now is the time to give them a reasonable straight Federal pension.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks and include therein an address delivered by our colleague, Hon. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, Jr., on last Saturday at the Editorial Banquet at Indianapolis.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. SPRINGER. Mr. Speaker, I also ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include therewith a poem written by Mrs. Constance S. Conrad, of Connellsville, Ind., on the subject Our America.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the Record and include therein a speech that I made on defense and the Japanese question on February 9.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. LELAND M. FORD. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include an article from the Santa Monica Daily, A Traitor Still at Large, referring to Robert Noble.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

#### AXIS PROPAGANDA

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks and include therein an article by Dorothy Thompson.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection? There was no objection.

Mr. FADDIS. Mr. Speaker, the many and oft-repeated criticisms cast regarding the war efforts of our British Allies are the result of clever Axis propaganda. Some of this criticism is true, but the most of it is untrue, unfair, and scurrilous. It is subtle sabotage of morale in both nations and certainly furnishes aid and comfort to our mutual enemies. Repetition of such malicious criticism is, to say the least, poor judgment and certainly tends to injure the common cause for which we are all fighting.

Certainly, the British have made mistakes in strategy and politics, which has cost them dearly. They have suffered reverses, some of which might have been avoided. So have we. They are in need of reforms, both political and military. We could do with some such reforms ourselves.

The insidious statement so often made that the British will fight to the last Frenchman, Greek, or what have you, never had the slightest foundation of fact. The courage of the British soldier has been proven on land and sea in every corner of the globe for centuries. Slow, blundering, and hard-headed he may be, but the Britisher is no coward. Their bulldog tenacity is legendary.

Whether or not the Britisher from the islands is as able physically as are the colonials, is another matter. Certainly men reared for generations in the congested areas of the island of Britain are not likely to equal those from the more open spaces of the world in physique and therefore will not equal them in endurance. Men bred from generations of shopkeepers, factory, and mill workers, are not as naturally adapted to army life as are those from the farms, ranches, and woods, but the fact remains that they are every bit as courageous.

The critics of Britain love to quote the population of the British Empire as over 500,000,000 people. That is true, but in all of this population there are less than 70,000,000 people far enough up in the scale of civilization to make soldiers in a modern sense. This less than 70,000,000 is scattered clear around the globe with many vital localities to defend.

Germany has 80,000,000 of people in a compact nation. She has control of 50,000,000 more in contiguous territory, and Italy another 45,000,000. Japan has

a population of over 70,000,000 at home, plus some 60,000,000 more in Korea and Manchukuo, separated only by the easily protected sea of Japan.

To feed the people on the island of Britain and to supply her industries, the British must maintain an enormous merchant marine. To guard the island, convey supplies, and to protect the far-flung empire, she must maintain an enormous navy. Both the merchant marine and navy take men.

The island of Britain is the political, social, financial, and industrial heart of the British Empire. If that island should be destroyed the defeat of the other components of the empire would be only a matter of the time necessary to defeat them in detail. Therefore, the heart must be protected first.

The false statements to the effect that the British depend upon the colonials to furnish troops for the empire armies and keep the troops from the island at home, is also Axis propaganda. The truth is, that in proportion to the population, Britain has retained less of her soldiers at home than have any of the dominions except New Zealand. The cry of a British war but the colonials fight, is also untrue. The casualty lists show that the soldiers from the island of Britain are doing all of their share of the fighting. With about 65 percent of the white population of the empire on the island of Britain, men from that island have suffered more than 70 percent of the battle casualties not to speak of the civilian casualties due to air raids.

Yes, the British have made many errors and have their faults. These errors and faults have cost them heavily. With all their faults, we must remember that they did not have to go to war with Hitler. They could have stood idly by while he overran the continent of Europe. If they had have done so they would not have made some of the strategic blunders for which they are now being so severely censured. The Japanese did not declare war upon the British, but as unprepared and as weak as the British knew themselves to be in the Far East, they went to war with Japan. With all of their blundering, I do not know of any nation I more welcome as an ally.

The article by Dorothy Thompson is as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star]

ON THE RECORD—SINGAPORE CRITICISM RECALLS THAT WE WEREN'T SO HOT AT PEARL HARBOR, EITHER

(By Dorothy Thompson)

All right; all right; yes, I read Cecil Brown, and so did Goebbels. He's quoting him all over the place. Yes; I know the show in Singapore was not so good. Yes; I know about the complacency; yes, I know they didn't follow a "scorched earth" policy. Yes—you can't feel worse about it than I did. I know what it means. Maybe I know what it means better than you do—the fall of Singapore.

Just the same, I can't stand the cackling. Who's calling whom names? Is this war in the Far East the fault of the British? We talked a year and a half. The British supported us in the Far East, not we the British. Do you remember Pearl Harbor? Were we so hot at Pearl Harbor?

Listen, brothers: This is a war against Japan and Nazi Germany. Get this straight: The British are our Allies.

#### THE LADY AND HER CAT

I read all the interviews with the American citizens who came from Penang. The British didn't evacuate the Americans properly. The British didn't have anti-aircraft guns. The British didn't this and the British didn't that. The lady with the Siamese cat had plenty to say, as I remember.

Listen, sister, you got home all right, didn't you—you and the Siamese cat? Ever occur to you to offer one prayer of gratitude to God? If you weren't properly protected, what have you ever done to protect anybody else? Listen, sister, you get busy and join the air-raid precaution service. Get busy. There's a lot to do right here. And if things don't go well right here whom will you blame—the British?

The British didn't have to have a war with Japan and they didn't have to have a war with Hitler. Do you know that? They could have tossed the continent to the winds and made a deal with both our enemies—against us. A military deal, a financial deal, a trade deal. All they had to do was go Nazi. All they had to do was agree about spheres of influence in the Western Hemisphere and the east. Hitler's still moaning that they didn't do it.

#### SEVENTY MILLION ANGLO-SAXONS

Did you ever look at the map? There are seventy-odd-million Anglo-Saxon members of the English-speaking world outside the United States and they are scattered from Land's End to hell and gone. Not quite 2 years ago they had the Germans at the Channel and there weren't any anti-aircraft guns in Britain, either. Forty-seven million people on a little island and they could starve in a fortnight. And for a year and a half they held the world at bay alone. That doesn't make any impression on you? Fifty thousand of them died—right in England. I can't remember that anybody whimpered.

When the King of Belgium made a separate peace, Paul Reynaud cried, "Treason." Churchill said, "We reserve judgment."

Did you ever read Lincoln's second inaugural address? Take a look at it again. "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

Listen to the Vichyites in New York. "Britain let us down." Not one mumbling word from Britain about the France that handed over everything to Hitler. Not a word. Only faith in France—when even France didn't have any.

#### WORK OF CENTURIES

You'd think to listen to some of you that you want Britain to lose. Careful, careful, be quiet and pray.

It took Britons and Hollanders, Frenchmen, and Americans hundreds of years to open this globe for white men. Japan, since Perry, is 88 years old. And in a few weeks hundreds of years may be swept into the ashcan, and the Japs have a straight open line from India to Suez.

You don't think much of the British Empire? No?

Well, brother, if Britain goes, write finis over western civilization. Or do you think perhaps that America can carry it alone?

You don't know what England means, my friend. England is very tired, and England is old. Yet, though it slay me, I tell you this: England is the last refuge of the civilized soul. Pray for England. I say England. England, so proud, and England who knows humility.

#### AGAIN, PEARL HARBOR

Have you heard the British say a word against the Americans? Did they crow over Pearl Harbor? Did they rush into print to talk of our smugness and complacency?

Did you ever have an Englishman or an Englishwoman for a friend? Did that friend ever let you down?

In the hour of her greatest distress, her greatest disaster, I, an American, write these



lines to England. And I say to England: In spite of Singapore I sing with you, "Land of hope and glory, mother of the free." And I sing with you, "There'll always be an England, and England will be free." And I ask you to sing with me the great songs of America, Sweet Land of Liberty, and Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean and Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory—songs written in the world's greatest language, the great language of resistance.

#### THROUGH THE PERILOUS FIGHT

There's a line in the Star-Spangled Banner—"Stars through the perilous fight."

There are stars, England.

And don't believe the lady with the Siamese cat is America.

America knows where she is going, and she knows who's going with her—Holland and Norway and Russia, China and India. Yes, India.

And by and by the whole round globe.  
And with you, Great Britain.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. MICHENER. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein an editorial.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

Mr. LANDIS. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks and include a brief newspaper article on two American heroes.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

Mr. PADDOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

#### DEFENSE OF ALASKA

Mr. PADDOCK. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks in the RECORD at this point.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?  
There was no objection.

Mr. PADDOCK. Mr. Speaker, 6 years ago Gen. Billy Mitchell said to the Military Affairs Committee of this House:

I think whoever holds Alaska will hold the world.

These prophetic words of a great American have deep meaning for us today. We know that from Alaska we can strike at Japan. We know that from Alaska Japan can dangerously threaten the United States.

What have we done to protect Alaska? Until lately, almost nothing. Even now, not enough, by far.

With all our realization of the enormous military value of this outpost which means as much to us as Hawaii, we have communication only by sea and air. There is no road to Alaska, built, building, or even surveyed.

Let us build that road now. Let us call it the Billy Mitchell Road, so that for all time the name of an American military genius will be linked with the defense of the country he loved. No better memorial could be created to his courage and wisdom than a highway to insure the development and protection of Alaska, which he knew and we know, must be defended if the United States is to be safe against attack.

As Frank C. Waldrop, of the Washington Times-Herald, said in a recent issue:

Alaska is in danger.

Alaska is ours.

We need safer and better communication with Alaska than we now have.

The sea route we already dominate. We must dominate also the land route and the air route.

This is essential to our safety, to Alaska's safety, and to Canada's.

The Canadians are unable to guard their own coast. They have only a minuscule naval detachment and of that almost all is over in the Atlantic looking after transport of supplies to England. Yet the greatest danger to Canada lies in the Pacific.

If Japan gets free in that ocean, her swing will take her not only down through Alaska but also into Canada on her way toward the United States proper.

Canada has no means of stopping such an attack. We have.

Under the present threat against both Canada and the United States, the former Canadian objections to this Alaskan highway should be abandoned, freely and promptly. If not, we should strongly urge the military necessity of this construction. I hope and believe that our proposals will receive the speedy consent of the Canadian authorities.

#### PERMISSION TO ADDRESS THE HOUSE

[Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi addressed the House. His remarks appear in the Appendix.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

(By unanimous consent, Mr. LEA was granted permission to revise and extend his own remarks.)

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I have two requests to submit: First, to print in the Appendix a letter from the Chairman of the War Labor Board with an answer thereto; and second, to be permitted to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. HOFFMAN. Mr. Speaker, I take this time to ask the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. RANKIN] a question: Is not the organization to which the gentleman refers the Civil Liberties Union, the organization which is heading the attempt to kill the Dies committee; the organization which is sending each Congressman propaganda asking him to end the existence of the Dies committee?

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. I do not know that it is heading that drive—

Mr. HOFFMAN. Sure it is.

Mr. RANKIN of Mississippi. But I understand it is attacking the Dies committee and the F. B. I., and that it has been attacking a great many things American here lately. It has been doing everything possible to stir up race trouble all up and down the Atlantic seaboard and throughout the Southern States for many years.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### ESTABLISHMENT OF MILITARY AREAS ON THE WEST COAST

Mr. ROLPH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. ROLPH. Mr. Speaker, President Roosevelt is to be highly commended for instructing the War Department to establish military areas from which all civilians—citizens or aliens—may be excluded.

Senators and Representatives in Congress from the Pacific coast, as well as the Delegate from Alaska, joined in recommendations to the President, urging this action. Our constituents are gravely concerned about the alien proposition and will deeply appreciate the President's interest in our welfare.

The President's authorization to the Army is aimed primarily at the 105,000 Japanese located on the west coast.

We of the Pacific coast are thankful.

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. STEVENSON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD and to include therein a resolution regarding the welfare of the independent tire dealers and recappers of Wisconsin.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. SMITH of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my own remarks in the RECORD and include therein two letters from the Civil Service Commission.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### ENTANGLING ALLIANCES

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend my remarks.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. RICH. Mr. Speaker, George Washington warned us in his Farewell Address that we should keep out of foreign entanglements.

Over the week end I received a circular, World Fellowship, Inc., sent out in an envelope of the National Highway Association, Washington, D. C. How did they get the National Highway envelope? The letters bear the post-office stamp of New York City by special-delivery postage. It comes from World Fellowship, Inc., wanting to start a world government foundation in which it desires this country to participate in a world government. I am fearful of this proposal, just as the gentleman from Mississippi is fearful of communistic organizations within this country. Our only protection against them is to heed the warnings given us by George Washington against foreign entanglements. If we are not very careful we will get ourselves so tangled up in world affairs we can never get out, and we will lose our own Government, our freedom, and the things Washington and his army paid such a dear price for us to receive. Beware of communism and the Reds within as well as foreign entanglements and world governments. It is a fantastic dream. It may sound good but

it is most dangerous to our good and our country's welfare.

#### UNITY OF THOUGHT AND EFFORT

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to address the House for 1 minute.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

Mr. MAHON. Mr. Speaker, upon this momentous day when we in the House of Representatives celebrate the anniversary of George Washington's birth, and on which we shall hear the President of the United States speak to the American people, I think it not inappropriate that those who believe in the Congress, who believe in the people, who believe in our democracy, reassert their faith in our Government.

A lot of criticism has been recently made of the Congress and this administration. Some of it has been warranted. For example, the so-called congressional pension was a great mistake, wrong in principle. It has been pending for years, having been first considered by the House in 1939. I am glad to say that I have never favored it or voted for it, and I have urged the repeal of the act, which I hope will occur at the session tomorrow. Wasteful nondefense spending is bad; the employment of so-called fan dancers in Government positions is bad.

But, Mr. Speaker, let me say that I have not lost faith in the American people, in the Congress, or in the President. The people want the truth; they are impatient with side issues, nonessentials, foolishness, and waste, but they are hungry for a chance to make a real contribution to the war effort. The people are aroused; everything they have is at stake, and they are ready to make greater sacrifices in order to assure victory for God and country.

And, if we stand united, victory will be ours, and the faith of George Washington in this Nation will again be vindicated.

[Here the gavel fell.]

#### EXTENSION OF REMARKS

Mr. DIMOND. Mr. Speaker, I have two requests to submit. First, to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include therein an address delivered on February 22, 1941, at Manila by Admiral Thomas Hart, commanding our Naval Establishment there, and by Gen. George Grunert, commanding the general Philippine Department at that time; and second, to extend my remarks and include therein an address delivered by Hon. Golden W. Bell, legal adviser to the Commissioner of the Philippines and formerly Associate Solicitor General of the United States, on the same occasion.

The SPEAKER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

There was no objection.

#### SENATE BILL REFERRED

A bill of the Senate of the following title was taken from the Speaker's table and, under the rule, referred as follows:

S. 2282. An act to provide for the planting of guayule and other rubber-bearing plants and to make available a source of crude rubber

for emergency and defense uses; to the Committee on Agriculture.

#### ENROLLED BILLS SIGNED

Mr. KIRWAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee had examined and found truly enrolled bills of the House of the following titles, which were thereupon signed by the Speaker:

H. R. 268. An act for the relief of James Wood;

H. R. 793. An act for the relief of the estate of Charles D. Talbert, deceased;

H. R. 2183. An act for the relief of Hiram O. Lester, Grace D. Lester, and Florence E. Dawson;

H. R. 2712. An act for the relief of the Branchland Pipe & Supply Co.;

H. R. 2780. An act for the relief of O. C. Ousley;

H. R. 3141. An act for the relief of Fred Farner and Doris M. Schroeder;

H. R. 4537. An act for the relief of H. D. Bateman, Henry G. Conner, Jr., executor of the last will and testament of P. L. Woodard, and J. M. Creech; and

H. R. 4622. An act for the relief of Catharine Schultze.

#### BILL PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT

Mr. KIRWAN, from the Committee on Enrolled Bills, reported that that committee did on February 20, 1942, present to the President, for his approval, a bill of the House of the following title:

H. R. 6548. An act making appropriations to supply deficiencies in certain appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for prior fiscal years, to provide supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, and for other purposes.

#### ADJOURNMENT

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House do now adjourn.

The motion was agreed to; accordingly (at 1 o'clock and 24 minutes p. m.) the House adjourned until tomorrow, Tuesday, February 24, 1942, at 12 o'clock noon.

#### COMMITTEE HEARINGS

##### COMMITTEE ON INTERSTATE AND FOREIGN COMMERCE

There will be a meeting of the Subcommittee on Petroleum of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, at 10 a. m., Wednesday, February 25, 1942.

Business to be considered: To resume hearings on petroleum as outlined in Mr. COLE's memorandum of February 6, 1942.

##### COMMITTEE ON INDIAN AFFAIRS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Indian Affairs on Wednesday, February 25, 1942, at 10:30 a. m., for the continuation of hearings on S. 1476 (Florida tick bill).

##### COMMITTEE ON INVALID PENSIONS

There will be a meeting of the Committee on Invalid Pensions at 10:30 a. m., Wednesday, February 25, 1942, in room 247, House Office Building, for the purpose of considering private bills.

##### COMMITTEE ON THE MERCHANT MARINE AND FISHERIES

##### POSTPONEMENT OF HEARING ON H. R. 6503

This will advise you that the hearings previously scheduled for Tuesday, February 17, 1942, at 10 a. m., have been postponed until Thursday, February 26, 1942, at 10 a. m., on the following bill, H. R.

6503, to extend and amend certain emergency laws relating to the merchant marine, and for other purposes.

#### EXECUTIVE COMMUNICATIONS, ETC.

Under clause 2 of rule XXIV, executive communications were taken from the Speaker's table and referred, as follows:

1419. A communication from the President of the United States transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation for the St. Elizabeths Hospital for the fiscal year 1942, amounting to \$200,000 (H. Doc. No. 632); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

1420. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting two supplemental estimates of appropriations totaling \$56,100,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1943, for civil functions administered by the War Department (H. Doc. No. 633); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

1421. A communication from the President of the United States, transmitting a supplemental estimate of appropriation in the amount of \$1,025,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1942, for the War Department for flood control, general (H. Doc. No. 634); to the Committee on Appropriations and ordered to be printed.

1422. A letter from the Secretary of War transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated November 7, 1941, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers on a review of reports on the Mississippi River between Coon Rapids Dam and mouth of the Ohio River, with a view to providing flood control on the Big Grassy and Little Grassy Creeks, Ill., requested by a resolution of the Committee on Flood Control, House of Representatives, adopted on May 1, 1940; to the Committee on Flood Control.

1423. A letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to further amend section 206 of the act entitled "An act to provide for the establishment, administration, and maintenance of a Coast Guard Auxiliary and a Coast Guard Reserve," approved February 19, 1941, as amended; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

1424. A letter from the Acting Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill for the relief of the First National Bank, Huntsville, Tex.; to the Committee on Claims.

1425. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to authorize the leasing of Indian lands for business and other purposes; to the Committee on Indian Affairs.

1426. A letter from the Secretary of the Interior, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to facilitate and simplify collection procedure in the Department of the Interior; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

1427. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a draft of a proposed bill to relieve disbursing and certifying officers of the United States of responsibility for overpayments made on transportation accounts under certain circumstances; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

1428. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated November 6, 1941, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a preliminary examination of Kayaderos Creek, Fish Creek, and tributaries, and Saratoga Lake, N. Y., authorized by the Flood Control Act approved on June 28, 1938; to the Committee on Flood Control.

1429. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Acting Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated Sep-



tember 26, 1941, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a review of reports on the Ohio River with a view to improvement in the interests of navigation and hydroelectric power in the vicinity of Letart, Ohio; Hogsett, W. Va.; and Greenup, Ky., requested by resolutions of the Committee on Rivers and Harbors, House of Representatives, adopted on November 2 and December 5, 1938, and by resolution of the Committee on Commerce, United States Senate, adopted on September 14, 1938; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

1430. A letter from the Secretary of War, transmitting a letter from the Chief of Engineers, United States Army, dated November 7, 1941, submitting a report, together with accompanying papers, on a review of reports on the Mississippi River between Coon Rapids Dam and mouth of the Ohio River, with a view to providing flood control on Reeds Creek, Marys River, Kinkaid Creek, and Clear Creek, Ill., requested by resolution of the Committee on Flood Control, House of Representatives, adopted on May 1, 1940; to the Committee on Flood Control.

1431. A letter from the Postmaster General, transmitting the Cost Ascertainment Report and Appendix for the fiscal year 1941; to the Committee on the Post Office and Post Roads.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. SABATH: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 443. Resolution for the consideration of H. R. 6600, a bill providing for the issuance of documentary evidence of United States citizenship; without amendment (Rept. No. 1817). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. SABATH: Committee on Rules. House Resolution 444. Resolution for the consideration of S. 2208, an act to further expedite the prosecution of the war; without amendment (Rept. No. 1818). Referred to the House Calendar.

Mr. BROOKS: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 2804. A bill authorizing bestowal upon the unknown unidentified American buried in the Memorial Amphitheater of the National Cemetery at Arlington, Va., the decoration of the Purple Heart; without amendment (Rept. No. 1819). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. RAMSPECK: Committee on the Civil Service. H. R. 6636. A bill to amend the Civil Service Retirement Act of May 29, 1930, as amended, for the purpose of making elective officers ineligible to receive benefits under this act; without amendment (Rept. No. 1820). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

Mr. BLAND: Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries. House Joint Resolution 263. Joint resolution to provide decorations for outstanding conduct or service by persons serving in the American merchant marine; without amendment (Rept. No. 1821). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House on the state of the Union.

#### REPORTS OF COMMITTEES ON PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 2 of rule XIII, reports of committees were delivered to the Clerk for printing and reference to the proper calendar, as follows:

Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas: Committee on Claims. S. 1669. An act for the relief of James Franklin Smith; without amendment (Rept. No. 1806). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MEYER of Maryland: Committee on Claims. S. 1777. An act for the relief of Robert Lee Phillips and for the six minor children of Robert Lee Phillips and the late Estelle Phillips, namely, Robert Lee Phillips, Jr., James Rudolph Phillips, Katherine Phillips, Richard Eugene Phillips, Charles Ray Phillips, and David Delano Phillips; without amendment (Rept. No. 1807). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. MEYER of Maryland: Committee on Claims. S. 1906. An act for the relief of the estate of V. H. Himley; without amendment (Rept. No. 1808). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas: Committee on Claims. H. R. 246. A bill for the relief of Mrs. Murray Freeman; with amendment (Rept. No. 1809). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. McGEHEE: Committee on Claims. H. R. 4842. A bill for the relief of Cohen, Goldman & Co., Inc.; with amendment (Rept. No. 1810). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. WEISS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5295. A bill for the relief of the estate of Romano Emitrani; with amendment (Rept. No. 1811). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5504. A bill for the relief of H. J. Abney; without amendment (Rept. No. 1812). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5563. A bill for the relief of Joe A. Mumford and the estate of W. C. Mumford; with amendment (Rept. No. 1813). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. JENNINGS: Committee on Claims. H. R. 5778. A bill for the relief of Luther Herbert Tench and Mrs. Mildred Farmer Tench; with amendment (Rept. No. 1814). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. HARRIS of Arkansas: Committee on Claims. H. R. 6036. A bill for the relief of Roy L. Riales; without amendment (Rept. No. 1815). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. COSTELLO: Committee on Military Affairs. H. R. 3337. A bill to provide for the issuance of a duplicate adjusted-service certificate to Andrew J. Bessinger; without amendment (Rept. No. 1816). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

Mr. BROOKS: Committee on Military Affairs. S. 2063. An act to authorize certain officers and enlisted men of the Army of the United States to accept emblems, medals, orders, and decorations that have been tendered them by governments of the Western Hemisphere; without amendment (Rept. No. 1822). Referred to the Committee of the Whole House.

#### PUBLIC BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, public bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. BLAND:

H. R. 6641. A bill to amend the act entitled "An act to authorize the establishment of a permanent instruction staff at the United States Coast Guard Academy," approved April 16, 1937; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

H. R. 6642. A bill to amend section 8 of the act entitled "An act to provide for the establishment, administration, and maintenance of a Coast Guard Auxiliary and a Coast Guard Reserve," approved February 19, 1941, as amended; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

By Mr. COLLINS:

H. R. 6643. A bill authorizing appropriations to reimburse States, counties, and other political subdivisions for loss of tax receipts on account of the acquisition of certain lands by

the United States; to the Committee on the Public Lands.

By Mr. DIMOND:

H. R. 6644. A bill to further amend the Alaska game law; to the Committee on the Territories.

By Mr. PAGÁN:

H. R. 6645. A bill to provide for the investigation of the feasibility and desirability as an aid in the war effort of establishing a naval station at Jobos Harbor, Guayama, P. R.; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

By Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts:

H. R. 6646. A bill to provide that the unexplained absence of any individual for 7 years shall be deemed sufficient evidence of death for the purpose of laws administered by the Veterans' Administration; to the Committee on World War Veterans' Legislation.

By Mr. FADDIS:

H. R. 6647. A bill to abolish the Office of Civilian Defense and to provide for the transfer of its function to the War Department; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

By Mr. GREEN:

H. R. 6648. A bill to safeguard the health of military and civilian personnel of the United States, the District of Columbia, and the Territories and possessions; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

By Mr. HILL of Washington:

H. R. 6649. A bill to establish the Office of the Supreme War Command, and for other purposes; to the Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments.

By Mr. VINSON of Georgia:

H. R. 6650. A bill to amend subsection 11 (b) of the act approved July 24, 1941, entitled "An act authorizing the temporary appointment or advancement of certain personnel of the Navy and Marine Corps, and for other purposes"; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

H. R. 6651. A bill to authorize inclusion of service on active duty as service on the active list in computation of service of commissioned warrant officers in the Navy for pay purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs.

#### MEMORIALS

Under clause 3 of rule XXII, memorials were presented and referred as follows:

By the SPEAKER: Memorial of the Legislature of the Territory of Puerto Rico, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their resolution relative to the war insurance passed and provided for be made extensive to Puerto Rico; to the Committee on Banking and Currency.

Also, memorial of the Legislature of the State of Kentucky, memorializing the President and the Congress of the United States to consider their Senate Resolution 42, relative to the commemoration of the State's one hundred and fiftieth birthday; to the Committee on Coinage, Weights, and Measures.

#### PRIVATE BILLS AND RESOLUTIONS

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, private bills and resolutions were introduced and severally referred as follows:

By Mr. CHIPERFIELD:

H. R. 6652. A bill granting a pension to Maud C. Lucas; to the Committee on Invalid Pensions.

By Mr. GREEN:

H. R. 6653. A bill for the relief of William R. Ivey; to the Committee on Claims.

#### PETITIONS, ETC.

Under clause 1 of rule XXII, petitions and papers were laid on the Clerk's desk and referred as follows:

2460. By Mr. FITZPATRICK: Petition of the New York State Sewage Works Association, favoring the passage of House bill 5676

to create a division of water pollution control in the United States Public Health Service; also the passage of Senate bill 1617 to amend the Employment Stabilization Act of 1931; to the Committee on Rivers and Harbors.

2461. By Mr. LUTHER A. JOHNSON: Petition of James B. Caudle, Groesbeck, Tex., favoring House bill 6390; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

2462. Also, petition of Ossie Downes, Route 5, Bryan, Tex., favoring House bill 998; to the Committee on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries.

2463. By Mr. KEOGH: Petition of the Allies Products, Inc., Suffern, N. Y., concerning Senate bill 2015 and House bill 5949, amending the Interstate Commerce Act, as amended, to provide for regulation of the sizes and weights of motor vehicles engaged in transportation in interstate and foreign commerce; to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

2464. By Mr. ROLPH: Assembly Joint Resolution No. 20 of the State of California, relative to memorializing the President and Congress to amend the Federal Social Security Act to permit certain small income to aged and dependent beneficiaries in addition to the aid which they may receive under Federal, State, and local laws; to the Committee on Pensions.

2465. By the SPEAKER: Petition of the International Workers Order, Inc., New York, N. Y., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to racial discrimination; to the Committee on Military Affairs.

2466. Also, petition of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, Martins Ferry Local Union No. 1238, Martins Ferry, Ohio, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to unemployment benefits and Work Projects Administration; to the Committee on Ways and Means.

2467. Also, petition of the Bergen County Woman's Republican Club, Inc., Glen Rock, N. J., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to the Civil Service Retirement Act; to the Committee on the Civil Service.

2468. Also, petition of the Central Joint Committee of the Coalition Party, San Juan, P. R., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to Gov. Rexford G. Tugwell; to the Committee on Insular Affairs.

2469. Also, petition of Local 1950 Steel Workers Organizing Committee, affiliated with Congress of Industrial Organizations, Cleveland, Ohio, petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to House Resolution 420; to the Committee on Rules.

2470. Also, petition of the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, Los Angeles, Calif., petitioning consideration of their resolution with reference to compensation for injuries or death sustained by volunteer civilian defense workers in line of duty; to the Committee on the Judiciary.

## SENATE

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1942

(Legislative day of Friday, February 13, 1942)

The Senate met at 12 o'clock noon, on the expiration of the recess.

The Reverend Charles W. F. Smith, canon, Washington Cathedral, Washington D. C., offered the following prayer:

O God, the God of the far ends of the earth and of the broad seas, who, though Thou dost rule the heavens, yet by Thy Spirit dwellest in the soul of man, be with us today. Inform our minds and

guide our wills, that we may be less concerned with calculation than with consecration. We have made with Thee a solemn pact of truth and with each other. Before Thee we have sworn not to yield. Now confirm our resolution. Keep before our eyes both the heroes of the past and the unborn generations to come, so that we may be worthy of the one and careful for the other.

We thank Thee for our allies of every clime and creed. By comradeship with Thee, our God, teach us effective unity with others that our power may grow after Thy will. Give spread to our wings, strength to our arms, and certainty to our minds. And to Thee be the glory, for Thine is the Kingdom for ever and ever. Amen.

### THE JOURNAL

On request of Mr. HILL, and by unanimous consent, the reading of the Journal of the proceedings of the calendar day Monday, February 23, 1942, was dispensed with, and the Journal was approved.

### ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT ON THE CONDUCT OF THE WAR

Mr. BARKLEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD at this point the address delivered last evening by the President over various Nation-wide hook-ups, and also to have printed in connection with it an editorial from the Washington Post of today entitled "The American Eagle."

There being no objection, the address and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT DELIVERED OVER THE RADIO FEBRUARY 23, 1942

The PRESIDENT. Washington's Birthday is a most appropriate occasion for us to talk with each other about things as they are today and things as we know they shall be in the future.

For 8 years General Washington and his Continental Army were faced continually with formidable odds and recurring defeats. Supplies and equipment were lacking. In a sense, every winter was a Valley Forge. Throughout the Thirteen States there existed fifth columnists—selfish men, jealous men, fearful men, who proclaimed that Washington's cause was hopeless, that he should ask for a negotiated peace.

Washington's conduct in those hard times has provided the model for all Americans ever since—a model of moral stamina. He held to his course, as it had been charted in the Declaration of Independence. He and the brave men who served with him knew that no man's life or fortune was secure without freedom and free institutions.

The present great struggle has taught us increasingly that freedom of person and security of property anywhere in the world depend upon the security of the rights and obligations of liberty and justice everywhere in the world.

This war is a new kind of war. It is different from all other wars of the past, not only in its methods and weapons but also in its geography. It is warfare in terms of every continent, every island, every sea, every air lane in the world.

That is the reason why I have asked you to take out and spread before you the map of the whole earth, and to follow with me the references which I shall make to the world-encircling battle lines of this war. Many questions will, I fear, remain unanswered; but I know you will realize I cannot

cover everything in any one report to the people.

The broad oceans which have been heralded in the past as our protection from attack have become endless battlefields on which we are constantly being challenged by our enemies.

We must all understand and face the hard fact that our job now is to fight at distances which extend all the way around the globe.

We fight at these vast distances because that is where our enemies are. Until our flow of supplies gives us clear superiority we must keep on striking our enemies wherever and whenever we can meet them, even if, for a while, we have to yield ground. Actually we are taking a heavy toll of the enemy every day that goes by.

We must fight at these vast distances to protect our supply lines and our lines of communication with our Allies—protect these lines from the enemies who are bending every ounce of their strength, striving against time, to cut them. The object of the Nazis and the Japanese is to separate the United States, Britain, China, and Russia, and to isolate them one from another, so that each will be surrounded and cut off from sources of supplies and reinforcements. It is the old familiar Axis policy of "divide and conquer."

There are those who still think in terms of the days of sailing ships. They advise us to pull our warships and our planes and our merchant ships into our own home waters and concentrate solely on last-ditch defense. But let me illustrate what would happen if we followed such foolish advice.

Look at your map. Look at the vast area of China, with its millions of fighting men. Look at the vast area of Russia, with its powerful armies and proven military might. Look at the British Isles, Australia, New Zealand, the Dutch Indies, India, the Near East, and the Continent of Africa, with their resources of raw materials and of peoples determined to resist Axis domination. Look at North America, Central America, and South America.

It is obvious what would happen if all these great reservoirs of power were cut off from each other either by enemy action or by self-imposed isolation:

1. We could no longer send aid of any kind to China—to the brave people who, for nearly 5 years, have withstood Japanese assault, destroyed hundreds of thousands of Japanese soldiers and vast quantities of Japanese war munitions. It is essential that we help China in her magnificent defense and in her inevitable counteroffensive—for that is one important element in the ultimate defeat of Japan.

2. If we lost communication with the southwest Pacific, all of that area, including Australia and New Zealand, would fall under Japanese domination. Japan could then release great numbers of ships and men to launch attacks on a large scale against the coasts of the Western Hemisphere, including Alaska. At the same time she could immediately extend her conquests to India and through the Indian Ocean to Africa and the Near East.

3. If we were to stop sending munitions to the British and the Russians in the Mediterranean and Persian Gulf areas, we would help the Nazis to overrun Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Persia, Egypt, and the Suez Canal, the whole coast of north Africa, and the whole coast of west Africa—putting Germany within easy striking distance of South America.

4. If, by such a fatuous policy, we ceased to protect the North Atlantic supply line to Britain and to Russia, we would help to cripple the splendid counteroffensive by Russia against the Nazis, and we would help to deprive Britain of essential food supplies and munitions.

Those Americans who believed that we could live under the illusion of isolationism wanted the American eagle to imitate the tactics of the ostrich. Now, many of those same peo-